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mature age. I knew of only two adult Tukuna with normal moustaches. The pubic hair is always scanty.

Signs of racial intermixture are visible in 20 per cent, more or less, of the members of the tribe—a small percentage, considering that the Tukuna have lived in peaceful contact with civilized persons for two and a half centuries. Evidently the rigid tribal organization into exogamic moieties has prevented unbridled promiscuity.

Defects and diseases.—Serious physical defects of a pathological nature are infrequent. When I inquired about the fate of children born deformed, no one could remember a particular instance. Deformation of the teeth by caries is frequent. Some cases of unilateral blindness the Indians attributed to measles.

Strangely high (2 per cent?) is the incidence of hearing defects, although I have never seen an Indian completely deaf. Defective hearing appears to be hereditary, being more frequent in certain families.

The most damaging diseases are those introduced by the Neobraziliana. Smallpox has ravaged the tribe on various occasions. The first epidemic, which decimated the Omágua in 1649, probably reached the Tukuna as well. Also highly devastating was the smallpox epidemic of 1870, which spread from returning soldiers of the Paraguayan war and almost depopulated certain *igarapés*,[1] such as the Igarapé da Rita.

Formerly there was apparently no malaria or intermittent fever (*impaludismo*) in these tributaries of the Solimões, in spite of the enormous quantities of mosquitoes. But many Tukuna who were taken by their masters to the Javary and Jandiatuba rivers died of this affliction, and others brought it back to the igarapés.

Influenza, catarrh, and other respiratory diseases are frequent but cause less damage among the Tukuna than among the other tribes.

The presence of intestinal worms among these Indians is less common than among the Neobraziliana. There are no venereal diseases, except perhaps among some emancipated families living with promiscuity with the Neobraziliana.

An endemic disease among the Tukuna, which, however, disfigures more than it incommodes, is the *purú-purú*,[2] a skin ailment that results in great irregular patches of a dark bluish color which eventually turns achromatic.

Territory

Formerly the territory of the tribe comprised the jungle centers off the left bank of the Amazon-Solimões from 71° 15′ (Ilha Peruaté) to 68° 40′ W. longitude; its tributaries, the Atacuari, Loretoyacu, Mariuaçú, Tacana, Belém, Cajary, São Jeronymo, and Rita, and the upper course of the drainage which empties into the Putumayo-Içá—the Yahuas, Cotuhé, Poreté, and Jacurapá.

The Tukuna did not then inhabit the banks of the Amazon-Solimões, for fear of the Omágua, who occupied the islands of that river throughout its course in

[1] Terms explained in the Glossary (p. 159) and native words in common use are italicized on their first appearance. Tukuna words are given in a simplified form of Nimuendajú's orthography, which is apparently a normalized phonetic transcription. The following abbreviations are used: P., Portuguese; T., Tukuna; l.g., lingua geral.

[2] *Pinta* or *mal del pinto*, caused by Spirochaeta pintae. In Brazil there are three varieties, called, according to the color of the blotches, "white," "red," and "black." Mexico, *mal del pinto*; Colombia, *carate*; Honduras, *cativi*.—Trans.

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(*anta*), deer, pig, and agouti (*cutia*), so that today the jungle is very poor in these species. An almost equal devastation was suffered by the chelonians, especially the great turtle (*Emys amazonica*). There are still great quantities of fish, which provide the principal food of the population. The *piracemas*, or shoals of fish which swim upstream to spawn, assume fantastic proportions. The *pirarucú* of the Solimões is an important article of export. 136

The insect pests, not so noticeable along the banks of the Solimões itself, transform the igarapés of the Tukuna into veritable infernos, since they desist neither in the daytime nor at night, nor at any season of the year. The worst persecutors of man are the gnats (*carapanãs*), the mosquitoes (*maruins*), and the gadflies (*mutucas*).

History

The Tukuna tribe has not been prominent in the history of the Amazon region. It is first mentioned in 1641 by Cristobal d'Acuña, the historian of the expedition of Pedro Teixeira from Belém to Quito in 1639. Acuña cites the "Tocunas" as being enemies of the Omáguas of the northern bank of the Solimões. Laureano de la Cruz mentions the Tukuna, whom he calls "Jaunas,"[1] at the time of his journey in 1640, as inhabiting the north bank of the Amazon, above the Putumayo. Heriarte in 1662 does not refer to the Tukuna by name but mentions the fights that the Omágua had with the tribes of the "solid ground" (*terra firme*). 175 648

In 1645 the Spanish Jesuits began to catechise these Omágua, and as early as 1650 the first smallpox epidemic caused the tribe heavy casualties. The upper Solimões was transformed into a battleground between the Portuguese and the Spaniards, the latter establishing their missions from the lower river up to the present Teffé, the former extending the slave hunts, under the name *tropas de resgate*, "ransom troops," to the upper river. [197] [131]

A series of skirmishes, battles, and retreats by each side took place, especially from 1708 to 1710. In 1732 a Portuguese flotilla ascended the Solimões and the Napo to establish a fort at the mouth of the Aguarico (75° W. long.), which Portugal claimed as its western boundary, but it was impeded in this task by the resistance offered by the missions. In 1766 the Portuguese occupied the mouth of the Içá, and in 1776 they founded the post of Tabatinga.

The result of all this was the disappearance of the Omágua from the islands of the Solimões, while the Tukuna in their jungle centers probably suffered very little. Some Omágua took refuge on the upper river; two Omágua villages persisted for some time on the Solimões, but to maintain them it became necessary to repopulate the villages with Indians of other tribes, among them the Tukuna, who during this period were taken to São Paulo de Olivença, Tonantins, Fonte Bôa, and even to Teffé.

Since they no longer had to fear the Omágua, and since the Mayoruna, their enemies on the right bank of the river, were also weakening rapidly, the Tukuna spread out more and more along the banks and islands of the Solimões to the Anatiparaná, which connects it with the Japurá.

[1] Presumably *J* equals *T*, *a* equals *co*, in the original manuscript written in 1662 (in Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid).

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Simultaneously, the Kokáma Indians of the lower Ucayali region began to emigrate to the Brazilian Solimões, where they established themselves among the Tukuna, though in separate localities. Their most important period of settlement was in the middle of the nineteenth century at Jurupary-tapera (Santa Cruz) on the left bank of the Solimões, between the mouth of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo and that of the Igarapé da Rita.

Today some two thousand of these Indians dwell in Brazil, along the banks and islands of the Solimões from the vicinity of São Paulo de Olivença to the Auatí-paraná. They live in peace with the Tukuna but avoid contact and do not meddle with them. The cultural influence of the Kokáma on the Tukuna has been practically nil.

From 1864 to 1870 Brazil was at war with Paraguay. Even today the Tukuna guard the traditions of the persecutions which they suffered from the "Varaváyu"; however, they designate by this name not the Paraguayans but the Brazilian recruiting troops, to whom they offered armed resistance. The few Tukuna recruits who returned brought back with them a new epidemic of smallpox, which caused havoc in the tribe.

In 1871 there was founded within the bounds of Caldeirão, at a spot immediately below the mouth of the igarapé of this name (today Belém), a mission which already had a nucleus of Tukuna Indians and which eventually possessed a chapel, 30 houses, and 171 inhabitants. By 1877, however, this establishment was in complete ruin.

In the last two decades of the past century the rubber-gathering industry began its extraordinary development throughout the entire Amazon region. It was for the Tukuna a sad era of exploitation, slavery, and abasement under the heel of greedy *patrões*, ignorant men but superior in force, which lasted for almost forty years; to this day they have not yet recovered from the effects, although the last of these squirearchs has long since disappeared.

However, even today there are some individuals, living at the mouths of the igarapés inhabited by the Tukuna, who willfully desire to hold the Indians subject to their selfish patronage. It is to be hoped that the Indian Welfare Service,* which was established in the region in 1942, will put an end to these anachronistic views.

There are no written records of the total number of Tukuna for any period of the past, but very conservatively I estimate their present number in Brazilian territory at more than 2,000, their total number as 3,000; they are therefore one of the most numerous tribes in Brazil.

Scientific Exploration

Before 1928 no one had studied the Tukuna in their primitive settlements. One or another traveler had been present occasionally at some episode of their celebrations, collected from the Neobrazilians of the area some not always accurate information, or had some Indian of the tribe for a paddler; but it appears that no one had spent even a day among them. The first reports, which many other writers utilized for more than a century, we owe to Padre José Monteiro de Noronha and to Francisco Xavier Ribeiro de Sampaio, who were briefly in the Tukuna country

* Serviço de Proteção aos Indios.

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lateral hole, a little below the tip. It was so described to me by Nino, who had seen one used by old Romão. I myself never got to see one.

Soul loss.—We have already seen (p. 101) how the spirits of the trees may cause disease, not only at the request of a sorcerer but also spontaneously. In addition, there are still two categories of disease: those caused by soul loss and those caused by epidemics of post-Columbian origin. The tree spirits kidnap the souls of the living, but apparently only those of children, as do the aquatic demon dyë'vaë and the ghosts of the defunct (načii'). For this purpose they whistle and call a child by name when the soul accompanies it by night through the jungle.

Nino told me how the soul of his daughter, ñua'čina, had been stolen when the child was being given a bath in the igarapé. As a result, she became pallid and weak and, had not the shaman Thomaz intervened, she would have died. At nightfall he sang, as the child lay in her mother's arms; he blew smoke over her from heel to head and in the opposite direction, then placed the extinct cigarette butt below the nape of her neck and went to sleep. At midnight he awoke and inquired about the child's condition. She was already nursing again, and her eyes were normal. He then ordered the parents to suspend the cigarette butt from her neck until it should fall of its own accord.

When a child under two years of age cries alone, the shades of the dead arrive and carry off its soul. A shaman may force its return to the body again by the process described above, but the danger is that the soul may have already tasted the food of the shades. In this event, the child begins to eat earth, coal, and so forth, and always dies sooner or later.

Cure of epidemics.—Epidemics come from the sun, where their presence is indicated by a greenish aureole. Without the sun's desire they are carried off by the wind, which spreads them among men. On the occasion of a serious epidemic of catarrh, a certain shaman called the people together, collected the invisible pathogenic substance from each, placed it in an urn, and rendered it harmless by smoking.

Dreams.—During a dream, the soul (naa'ë) abandons the body and has its own adventures, which are real and may be of great consequence. Through dreams the shaman acquires his spirit assistant, gets in touch with the tree spirit, or identifies the sorcerer responsible for a patient's illness or death. We have seen how an injury to the soul of a warlock in a dream excursion caused the warlock's death. Some adventures of the soul in dreams are warnings of things to come in the near future. If a bank subsides or a tree falls on a person in a dream, it is because others plot against him. If he sees himself painted with genipapo, this means blood and that he will be murdered. An encounter with a jaguar in a dream indicates the arrival of a companion or of a member of the čiva' (jaguar) clan, whereas the visit of an Auahy clan member is announced by a dream of a snake. If the snake turns aggressive, however, disease is on the way.

Female witchcraft.—Contrary to what Tessmann was told, there are no female magicians in contact with tree spirits or capable of causing death or of removing the spells put on others. What can happen is this: a woman, in order to injure the object of her hatred, plucks a few of her victim's hairs, which she places in an ant nest. Or she ties them to some branches on the riverbank where their seesaw